Washington Sentinel.

WM. M. OVERTON, CH. MAURICE SMITH, AND REVERLEY TUCKER.

FEBRUARY 16, 1855.

O. H. P. STEM, is our authorized agent for collecting accounts due this office, and for ob-

WHAT IS THE KNOW-NOTHING IDEA OF "STATE RIGHTS."

If we understand aright, the policy of the Abolitionists, it is to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, to abolish the inter-State slave trade, to exclude slavery from all the Territories of the United States, and to repeal the Fugitive Slave law. By thus penning up the institution and denying it vent and ventila tion, they hope to force the present slave States to abolish it. This is the policy of the leading Abolitionists, nearly all of whom deny to Congress the direct power to abolish slavery in the States.

What think the Know-nothings on the sub ject? The opinion of the Massachusetts Know nothings has recently been expressed in the election of Senator Wilson, who, in endorsing Mr. Burlingame's lecture, gave his solemi sanction to the views above indicated.

What thinks the Organ? It thinks with Mr. Burlingame and Senator Wilson, that Congress cannot abolish slavery in the States. So far so good. That is a view that the rankest Abolitionist may entertain. But what does it think of the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District, to exclude it from the Territories to abolish the slave trade between the States. and to repeal the fugitive slave law? On these points it is discreetly and obstinately dumb The platform of the Know-nothings does not require any such expression of opinion. Now, far be it from us to impute wrong sentiments to the Organ. We do not mean to do so either by positive charge or covert innuendo. We simply desire that the Organ will express its opinions. The South will not be satisfied with its unmeaning declaration that-

"Whatever may be our opinions of the polic or impolicy of the repeal of the above-name laws, it will be time enough to express them when the occasion demands it."

But, should the Organ reconsider the matte and express itself against the repeal of the above laws and against the abolition of slavery in the Distict, and its exclusion from the Territories, it must still go a little further and prove its faith by its works. It must repudiate all the members of its order who hold the op-

As the matter stands at present the Organ accepts, as a "strict constructionist," and "State Rights" man, the new Senator from Massachusetts, who holds all the Abolition sentiments above indicated. It accepts him as such, because he has said, in a letter, that he is a "State Rights" man.

What is the Organ's idea of a "State Rights man? We feel anxious to know. It seems to be this, that he may hold the sentiments ut tered by Mr. Burlingame, a new Know-nothing congressman, and endorsed in every word by Senator Wilson, which sentiments are as fol-

"If asked to state specifically what he would do, he would answer-1st. repeal the Nebraska bill; 2d. repeal the fugitive slave law; 3d. 4th. abolish the inter-State slave trade; next he would declare that slavery should not spread to one inch of the territory of the Union; he would then put the Government actually and perpetually on the side of freedom—by which he meant that a bright-eyed boy in Massachu setts should have as good a chance for promo tion in the Navy as a boy of one of the first families in Virginia. He would have our foreign consuls take side with the noble suth and against the Papal butcher Bedini. He would have judges who believed in a higher law, and an anti-slavery constitution, an antislavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God!"

Because Mr. Burlingame and Senator Wilson do not, as is the case with many of the rankest Abolitionists, claim for Congress the direct power to abolish slavery in the States, he is, in the contemplation of the Organ, a "State Rights man."

The Organ says again:

"We repeat, then, the 'American party' not responsible for Senator Wilson's individual opinions on the question of slavery, for he was not elected on any such issue."

The "American party" ought to make the question of slavery "an issue." If it does not -if it elects Abolitionists in consequence of the wilful omission of this issue, it cannot expect southerners to be stupid enough to remain in

THE VIRGINIA SCRIP BILL.

We take from the Richmond Enquirer the following communication on the subject of the Virginia Scrip Bill which recently passed the House of Representatives. We cordially unite with the correspondent of the Enquirer, in the hope that a measure so just in itself, affecting in so high a degree, the dignity of the State, and involving the interests of so many of her citizens, will soon receive the co-operation of the Senate and the sanction of the Executive. The generous bounty of Virginia in ceding her immense domain to the Union, demands from the Federal Government a gener- cause was concluded by Mr. Coxe, for the apons recognition of the claims of her children : To the Editors of the Enquirer:

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10, 1855. A measure of great importance to our State has just passed the House of Representatives. I mean a bill declaratory of the Scrip Act of Angust 31, 1852. It is of value to us, not in a pecuniary view only, but in another sense. It wipes off a stain which had too long rested on the escutcheon of Virginia. Under no erroneous construction of the provisions of the act of 1852, the judgments of the tribunals of Virginia were not only reviewed, but, in about an equal number of cases, overruled and reversed, although it has been settled, from the foundation of the Union, that the construction of the State laws by the State tribunals of last resort, is a part of the law, and binding on the United States. The thing involved a gross indignity to a sovereign State, and great loss and annoyance to our citi zens; but the bill just passed the House, if it becomes a law, will remedy the wrong.

It is now in the Senate, but it is understood that the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of the General Land Office are active in opposition to it, and will endeavor to defeat it in the Senate. But I trust, as I presume that there must be some mistake in this; for i is hardly to be supposed that, after a measure has received the decided sanction of the popuhar branch of the people's representatives, an executive officer would presume to interfere sterling.

with the legislative action. One thing is cer-tain: the defeat of the bill now, after near three years of vexatious delay and deferred hope, wil be the source, to thousands of our people, of serious disappointment and bitter dissatisfac

sey hours

Judge Caskie made a most strenuous effor to have the bill reported and put on its passage That he should have succeeded, at so late a period of the session, and of a short session argues an energy and influence highly credits ble to him both as a representative and as man. He is entitled to the thanks of the thousands of our needy citizens who are inter ested in the bill, and of all who value the honor and dignity of our State. Yours, truly,

THE "KANSAS SENTINEL."

This is the title of a paper to be established in the new Territory of Kansas. It will be published and edited by John T. Brady and Edmon Byerly, esqs. The prospectus states

"It will advocate the exclusive right of the people of the Territories to regulate their ow unicipal affairs. "It will fearlessly denounce any attempt of

Congress to legislate upon the subject of sla very in the States or Territories. It will boldly maintain and advocate the constitutional rights of the South, and will ad vocate and defend the wholesome utility o Southern institutions.

and maintain permanently upon the rich soil of Kansas the institutions of the South." The terms are for the weekly \$2,00; Triweekly \$6,00-in advance. Address of editors

"It will use all honorable means to sustain

Westport, Missouri. The above chart of principles will command the approbation of all who value the constitution, recognize the rights of the States, and feel an interest in the proper settlement of the young Territory of Kansas. We wish success to this new enterprise, and hope that it will be cheered and encouraged by the patronage of the citizens of the old slave-holding Statesfor they are most deeply interested in the success of the principles and objects which it promises to advocate.

Bancroft against Know-nothingism.

The great historian, in an address recently delivered before the New York Historical Society, spoke eloquently and justly of the obligations due from the American people. He views the great subject from an elevated standpoint, and his utterance of truth meets with warm and cordial response from the hearts of all truly patriotic men. He says:

"Our land is more the recipient of all cour tries than of their ideas. Annihilate the pas of any one leading nation in the world, our destiny would have been changed. and Spain, in the persons of Columbus and Is abella, joined together for the great discover that opened America to emigration and com merce; France contributed to its independence; the search for the origin of the language we speak, carries us to India; our religion i from Palestine; of the hymns sung in our churches, some were first heard in Italy, some n the desert of Arabia, some on the banks of the Euphrates: our arts come from Greece, our urisprudence from Rome, our maritime code from Russia. England taught us the system of representative government; the noble repub-lic of the United Provinces bequeathed to us, in the world of thought, the great idea of the toleration of all opinions—in the world of action, the prolific principles of Federal Union. Our country stands therefore, more than any other, as the realization of the unity of th races." - Montgomery Advertiser.

Supreme Court of the United States.

THURSDAY, February 15, 1855. No. 64. Amos Albutton's executors, Samuel Woodward's administrators.—Mr. Justice Campbell delivered the opinion of the court, reversing the judgment of the district trict of Alabama, in this cause, with costs, and remanding the cause for a venire facias de

No. 48. Thomas Law's executors, et al., vs. Joseph E. Law, &c. Appeal from the circuit court of the United States for the District of Columbia .- Mr. Justice Grier delivered the opinion of the court, reversing so much of the ecree of the said circuit court as allows \$66. 154 81 to Edmond and Eleanor Rogers, and affirming the residue of said decree, and remanding the cause with directions to distribute the fund in conformity to the opinion of this

No. 37. Lyde Goodwin's administrator, vs. Robert Olivers's executors. Appeal from the circuit court of the United States for Maryland Mr. Justice Nelson delivered the opinion of the court, affirming the decree of the said circuit court in this cause, with costs.

No. 38. James Williams's administrator, vs. Robert Oliver's executors. Appeal from the circuit court of the United States for Maryland. Mr. Justice Nelson delivered the opinion of the court, reversing the decree of the said circuit court in this cause, with costs, and remanding the cause for further proceedings in conformity to the opinion of this court. No. 39. John Gooding's administrator.

Robert Oliver's executors. Appeal from the circuit court of the United States for Maryland .- Mr. Justice Nelson delivered the opin ion of the court, reversing the decree of the said circuit court in the cause, with costs, and remanding the cause for further proceedings in conformity to the opinion of this court. No. 58. Jane A. Cox, guardian, &c.,

Charles Mason, error to the district court of the United States for Iowa .- Mr. Justice Mclean delivered the opinion of the court, affirming the judgment of the said district court in this cause, with costs.

No. 59. James Rhodes, rs. William B. Far

mer et al. Appeal from the district court of the United States for the northern district of Mississippi.-Mr. Justice McLean delivered the the court, affirming the decree of opinion the said district court in this cause, with costs.

No. 68. Moses Wanzer, et al., appellants, vs. B. R. and J. H. Truly.-The argument of this

No. 69. The Steamboat Niagara, &c., v. John Pult, master of the steamboat Cleopatra, &c .- This case was dismissed by consent of parties, the matters in controversy having been

agreed and settled. Adjourned till to-morrow, 11 o'clock.

The Crystal Palace, Sydenham .- Of cours Advertiser, as everybody does, to see the Crystal Palace. This immense structure, transferred from Hyde Park, is fitted up with a splendor, which seems to have totally disregarded expense; notwithstanding which, as a financial experiment, it seems likely to prove a failure. I found a few hundred people wandering about its vast aisles listening to the music of an excellent band, and dmiring the magnificent decorations of its courts fitted up, some in Medizeval manner, others as the exact counterpart of Alhambra, others to reproduce the luxury of the Romans in Pompei and others again warmed artificially and fille with tropical plants, chiefly paims, and made gay with the play of fountains and the song of birds Nor less pleasing is the appearance of the grounds surrounding the edifice, with the terraced lawns, and their artificial lakes, on the borders of which are seen huge monsters, representations of the animals that sported on the semi-liquid earth millions of ages, perhaps before the creation of our race. Workmen are still employed, both within and without the palace, and no expense is spared to augment its attractions, but with, I fear, little prospect of a return to the proprietors. I under stand the cost so far has been a million and a hal

OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF

A DISCOURSE Delivered before the Virginia Historical Seciety, at their eighth Annual Meeting, Decem By Hon. R. M. T. Hunter.

resident and Gentlemen of the Virginia Historical Society When I received the invitation to deliver yo nual discourse, I was so well aware that ould not bring to the task that fullness of know edge which is essential to do justice to the sub ect, that my first impulse was to decline the ject, that my first impulse was to decline the honor, highly as I esteemed it. But, upon subsequent reflection, it struck me that I might perhaps render useful aid to your society, by calling public attention, in some degree, to the great importance of the objects of your pursuit, and the high value of such labors not only to ourselves, but to others. I cannot be accused of error in bearing such testimony to the great objects of your pursuit, by those who reflect upon their nature and tendencies. For surely one of the highest offices that man can render to his race, is to store up the experience and the ideas of the to store up the experience and the ideas of the present generation for the uses of those which are to succeed it, and to render such treasures o the past accessible to his cotemporaries. Next in importance to him who first conceives the great the importance to him who first conceives the great thought, or originates the high example, stands the man who preserves the example and perpetuates the thought for the everlasting use and possession of the generations which are to succeed him. It is through man's capacity to use the experience and the thoughts of his fellows, and to store up and accumulate such treasures by adding the present stock to that of the past, that he mainly secures the means of the present and mainly secures the means of the progress and growth which so distinguish him from all other animals. To ascertain the extent of the developanimais. To ascertain the extent of the develop-ment which the human rrce may attain by the use of such means, we have only to compare the Anglo-Saxon, the Celt or the Teuton of to-day, with his rude ancestors, who roamed through the forests of Gaul, or of Germany, as described to us by Cæsar and Tacitus. (I will not take the us by Cresar and Tacitus. (I will not take the more striking comparison between the Bushman or Fetish worshiper of Africa with his civilized cotemporary, because that might be ascribed more to a difference of race than of cultivation, to which alone I refer at present. The first presents a case quite strong erough for the purpose of illustration, as there is a nost as much differ ence between the former and present condition of the races, as between the first and last state of the statue man, imagined by the French philosothe statue man, imagined by the French philoso-pher to awaken, sense by sense, into existence, until he stood completely clothed in all the attri-butes of humanity.) Take, then, the savage an-cestor and the civilized decendant, and compare them, sense with sense, and faculty with faculty, and how vast is the difference! The vision of the first was bound by the limits of the sensible horizon; a few miles upon earth, and some of the larger objects in the heavens alone were visible to him, whilst he was entirely unconscious of the myriads of beings, living and moving within and around tim. The vision of the last penetrates into the very depths of space, and discovers worlds and systems of worlds, all unknown to his rude progenitor; he weighs their substance, measur heir dimensions, and calculates their motions their dimensions, and calculates their motions, with an accuracy which the other hardly attained with regard to the objects of his immediate contact; or, turning his magic glass, he explores a microcosm in the almost infin itesimal atom, and becomes sensible of myriads of beings, who people it and give it life. How many more times, then, is the last a man, as compared with the first, if tested by the serse of sight alone! Tried by the faculties of physical strength and motion, the difference is still as great in his favor. He directs and controls the most called services. motion, the difference is still as great in his favor. He directs and controls the most subtle and powerful physical agencies, and imprisons captives far mightier than Samson, who grind blindly at his mill. Still more wonderful is his superiority in the means of communicating with his fellow. His thoughts are exchanged in seconds over distances through which formerly they could not have been communicated in property. been communicated in months; and he him-self flies along the earth with a speed greater than the horse, and perhaps equalling that of the bird. In this vast increase of the means for accumulating strength and for association amongst men, how much greater is the amount of power which falls to the share of the civilized individual than

hat to which the savage ancestor could by possi bility have aspired!

Doubtless the wild man of the woods could dis bountiess the who man of the woods could dis-tinguish between sounds, as pleasant or unpleas-ant, as grave or gay, but what sense had he of the hidden harmonies which floated in the air around him? Did he dream that the very air which he breathed could be modulated into sounds which subdue the senses by their tones, and stir the soul to its inmost depths, speaking in the only universal language known to man, with an unerring concord and a certainty of expression which the original curse of Babel has never reached to confuse or So, too, he must have had so the beautiful, in the forms of things; but it was as transitory as the lights and shadows which fluted by him. To fix the idea ere it fled, and reproduce by him. To fix the idea ere it fled, and reproduce it in forms more eloquent than words; to make sentient the cold impassive stone, and to embalm emotions and sentiments in lights borrowed from heaven, would have been indeed to him an "art and a faculty divine," so far did it transcend his power of execution. Nor is the superiority of the last over the former generation of the men of last over the former generation of the men of whom I have been speaking, less striking in a whom I have been speaking, less striking in a moral, than in a physical point of view. Conceptions over which a Newton, or a Leibnitz, or Bernouilli, or Euler, toiled in his study, are now the daily exercises of boys at college; and the higher and subtler analysis of La Grange, or La Place, is probably destined to be mastered with equal facility hereafter. Ideas whose origination cost so much to a Plato, or an Aristotle, a Bacon, a Des Cartes, or a Kapi. Des Cartes, or a Kant, are now the common property of the world, and thousands understand houghts which probably not one of them could

ave discovered. In times of peace, and since the invention of printing; it may almost be said that each generaand if in comparing the present with the past, we find so vast a difference in favor of the existing generation of men, with what proud hopes may we not be justly inspired for the future progress of our race! If the difference between the two enerations whom I have compared be such as could seem to a superficial observer to indicate a superior nature in the last, what may we not right fully expect of future improvement, when we think of the greater opportunities for progress which ach succeeding generation will enjoy each succeeding generation will enjoy? A proud thought this, but not too proud, if we remember, with becoming gratitude and humility, to whose power it is that we owe these faculties and opportunities, and endeavor to fulfill the conditions upon which alone such a promise could have been given. One of these conditions undoubtedly is, that we should preserve the experience and the ideas of the past and the present. for the use of ideas of the past and the present, for the use of the future. Without this faculty of one man to use and possess himself of the example and ideas f another, our race could never have reached the point to which it has already attained; and withpoint to which it has aircady attained; and with-out the means of preserving these examples and these ideas, that faculty could not be exercised. To preserve these is the historian's function, yours, sir, and that of the society over which you

I have already said that I rate the historian next only in point of importance to him from whom first emanates the great example, or high conception, and who, by original discovery, extends the bound-aries of human thought; and to this extent I think experience will fully bear me out. The historian is the treasprer who stores away and preserves the moral wealth of the human race, and hoards up the ideas and conceptions which are as essential to the store of the human race. tial to its spiritual growth and elevation, as material means are to its physical existence. But there is one great and never to be forgotten differ ence between the two species of wealth, moral and material, which leaves no doubt as to the superior value of the former. In the first, each may enjoy all, and yet leave no smaller individual share to another; it is not consumed by its use, and suffers no loss by division; in the last, when one takes a part, less is left for his neighbor. In the first, the broadest socialism is practicable, the property is improved from its possession by many, and such is the law of its increase and growth; in the latter, individual and exclusive possession of a part seems to be the law of the growth of the whole, and hence arise manifold difficulties, to which I may perhaps allude, but cannot in this slace develop. In a few words, the difference between the two, is all the difference between the

I have dwelt somewhat upon this topic, even the risk of seeming metaphysical, because I felt that I was touching upon a subject which is hardly enough considered at this day, by states-men and philosophers, and all those, in short, who seek to lead the march of human thought. In the development of material wealth and power, there never has been such a period as the present in same of the care bestowed upon its moral resources? That the moral progress of our race has been great, I have already admitted; but is there not danger, that in the eager pursuit of material wealth, physical improvement, we may not sufficiently consider the culture of those moral

If the uses of human history be such as approximate to those I have described, how can we over-estimate their importance, or that of the faithful historian? When I speak of the historian, I do estimate their importance, or that of the faithjul historian? When I speak of the historian, I do not mean him only who narrates events in letters and sentences. He who preserves a record of thoughts and sentiments, is as much to be valued as a historian, as he who chronic'es human actions and passions; and he who preserves a great conception for the uses of posterity, performs the duty of a historian, no matter what the shape in which it may be perpetuated as a possession to mankind. Thucydides was no more a historian of the time of Pericles, than Phidias; from the one we learn the march of its events, from the other the state of the arts; and realize a conception of the beautiful, so preserved as to be food for the thought of after ages. The Elgin marbles are as valuable to us in an historical point of view, as the most splendid passages of Thucydides, and the friezes of the Parthenon are so many pictured pages, which speak of the past both to the mind and eye of the beholder, and almost with the force of a living witness. Whatever preserves an idea or the memory of a fact for the benefit of man, is historical in its uses; and all the various forms in which this object is attained, deserve our study and consideration. its uses; and all the various forms in which this object is attained, deserve our study and consideration. The great historians who are distinguished alike for powers of narration, sagacious criticism, and faithful delineations of the characters of nations, or individuals, are truly of rare occurrence, "homines centenarii." It is not for every era, or every people, to produce even one of them. The Thucydides, or Tacitus, or even the Herodotus, or Livy, of the English language, has not yet appeared. But in all civilized countries, the means and the men exist for collecting monuments and traditions, from which their history may be understood, or written; to collect, and if possible to arrange them, is the great duty of an association such as yours, a duty which it may be said, that every people, so far as their own annals are that every people, so far as their own annals are concerned, owe to their ancestors, to themselves, and to humanity.

Many of the civilized nations of the earth, seem

Many of the civilized nations of the earth, seem to be acting under a sense of their obligations in this regard, and a most extraordinary success has rewarded their labors. With the expedition of Napoleon to Egypt, commenced a series of researches into the monumental history of the earth, whose results have been at once startling and gratifying. Thanks to modern discovery, the Rosetta tablet now ranks with Arundelian marbles in point of political importance and the situations. setta tablet now ranks with Arundelian marbles in point of political importance, and the pictured pages on the books of stone of monumental Egypt, which for so many ages have defied his serutiny, are now forced to yield up their secrets to the inquisition of man. The boundaries of authentic history have been set back for several ages in the past, monuments of more than five thousand years of age have been identified, and a period of many centuries has been recovered from the realize of centuries has been recovered from the realms of night and chaos into which it had fallen.* Almost everywhere enterprises have been set

on foot by government, by associations, and even by individuals, to explore the monumental records of our race, and to wrest from the cold, impassive

face of the silent stone, some portion at least of the story of humanity. The land of "Eld," the immutable and immorial East, is everywhere searched for its traditionary treasures of human lore, and whole cities of the dead have been uncovered to the astonished gaze of civilized man. Heroes whose very 'existence had seemed fabulous, now take their appropriate niche in the Temple of Fame, and eras whose traditions had been hid in the "awful hoar" of innumerable ages, once more assume their place in the page of authentic history. Still, as we tread these silent chambers of the long forcette. silent chambers of the long-forgotten dead, we start at the unmistakable signs of their fellowship with ourselves in all the passions of the human race. Amidst the mazes of winged bulls, and sculptured lions, we see pictured on the everlast-ing stone, the same dark story of human suffering and human wrong. The conqueror, returning from afar, rode then as afterwards, triumphant in his chariot, and dejected files of the captives of his chariot, and dejected files of the captives of his bow and spear, in sad procession followed in his train. Then, as now, man sought to perpetuate the story of his power and prowess, by monu-ments so lasting as to defy the ravages of time. As the wayfarer on a distant shore leaves some sign by which he seeks to perpetuate a sense of sign by which he seeks to perpetuate a sense of his presence to those who may succeed him, so we find that humanity has set its marks in these remote and newly-discovered regions of the Past. Light begins to stream in many a dark crypt through fissures made by the investigating hand of man, and night slowly lifts its curtain from events upon which its shadow had reposed until they had become forgotten, and unknown. It would be surprising indeed, if such things as these had not served to awaken expectation, and excite inquiry. In the awaken expectation, and excite inquiry. In the midst of so stirring a scene, and in the view of the honorable rivalry amongst civilized nations for precedence in the path of historical inquiry, shall apathy be found only here, in the "ancient Doninion," as Virginia styled herself by her own House of Burgesses so far back as 1699? e suffer the very records of our own history to be lost irrevocably, when they might be preserved with so little trouble? Surely there never started an argosy more richly freighted with human des-tiny, than the little fleet of three vessels which, on the 19th of December, 1600, left the shores o England in search of Virginia; for it was the ven-Language in search of vagina, for it was the ven-ture which first planted successfully the germ of Anglo-Saxon civilization upon the continent of America. Had this enterprise been the favorite subject of an imagination as lively as that of the Greeks, who made so much of the voyage of the Greeks, who made so much of the voyage of the Argonauts, and their first exploring expedition into the Euxine, it would long since have been celebrated as a chosen theme in history and in song. Each had its fabled dangers to encounter, and each gave a rich promise to real results. the Symplegades threatened to inclose the ship of the one in their deadly embrace, the "still vexed Bermoothes," or "Isle of Devils," as the early adventures called it., lay in the way of the other. The fleece of gold was the charm which

attracted both.

In the whole history of human adventure, perhaps none ever beheld a scene more wild and strange than that which stretched before the eyes strange than that which stretched before the eyes of the first settlers of Virginia, as they laid upon the quiet bosom of the James, whose silent waters rolled from they knew not where, and whose sil-ver line made the only break in the vast and dark expanse around them. The painted Indian, in his wild array of skins and feathers, stood like some pictured figure in the silent scene of which he formed a part. Pathless forests stretched far away in boundless and unknown space, whose silence was disturbed only by the strange cries of animals as yet unseen, and whose eternal shadows seemed to rest upon mysteries as deep as the solitude in which they were hidden. Secrets of human destiny were there, and a future whose vast and manifold scroll was as yet unrolled even to the eye of imagination itself. Upon this vast and they themselves were to plant the germ of a new civilization, whose growth was to be at least as rich as the lately discovered world around them. Had some one arisen, as of old, more pre-scient than the rest, to foretell the destiny which awaited them, like the Hebrew mother, they would have smiled with incredulity at the magni-

tude of the promise, and turned a faithless ear to the prophet and his prophecy. In all that crowd, perhaps there was one whose imgination might have been filled with such a coneption. I mean Captain John Smith, the true Virginia, whose strangely chequered life had been such as to teach him a distinction between the unknown and the impossible; and who, with all the faith of genius was capable of aspiring to great things. With the country itself, he seems to have been completely fascinated, for he declared that heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation."‡ And Beverly, too, writing about a century after, says: "the country is in a very happy situation between the extremes of heat and cold, but inclining rather to the first. Certainly it must be a happy climate since it is very near the same latitude with that of the Land of Promise. Besides, the Land of Promise was full of rivers, and branches of rivers, so is Virginal and the latitude with the control of the latitude with the control of the latitude was full of rivers, and branches of rivers, so is Virginal and the latitude was full of rivers. nia; as that was sented on a great bay and sea whereon were all the conveniences of shipping, so is Virginia. Had that fertility of soil? so has Virginia, equal to any land in the known world," Again he says, in regard to it, "The clearness and Again he says, in regard to it, "The clearness and brightness of the sky add new vigor to their spirits, and perfectly remove all splenetic and sullen thoughts. Here they enjoy all the benefits of a warm sun, and by their shady trees are protected from its inconvenience. Here all their senses are entertained with the endless succession of natural pleasures; their eyes are ravished with the with the perpetual murmur of brooks, and the thorough-hass which the wind plays when it wanders through the trees; the merry birds, too, join their pleasing notes to this rural concert, es-pecially the mock birds, who love society so well that often, when they see mankind, they will perch upon a twig and sing the sweetest airs in the world." So wrote, a hundred and thirty years

*Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in Universal His-ory," vol. I, page 28 of Introduction, and pages 83

†3 Hening, p. 181. † Smith's History of Virginia, p. 144. † Beverly's Hist of Va., p. 256. ¶ Ibid, p. 258.

resources, whose developement is so important to ago. a Virginian, enamored of his native land. His

picture may be extravagant; but who does not admire the spirit in which it is drawn!

It is not my purpose to attempt to trace the his-It is not my purpose to attempt to trace the history of Virginia from its first painful beginnings, through all the stages of its growth, up to its present state and condition. If the proper limits of this address did not forbid it, I should be prevented by my want of qualifications for the task. But the history of every people has a moral which it may be profitable to study, and not only teaches the mode in which its national character has been moulded for good, or ill, but also the means by which it may be strengthened and elevated. To this extent the history of each people becomes a matter of general interest to all. The title a State may have to the respect of mankind must depend may have to the respect of mankind must depend upon facts, and to preserve the historical evidence. upon facts, and to preserve the historical evidences upon which they rest, ought to be a labor of love to its sons. To cast a passing glance at each of these views of our history, perhaps, may not be inappropriate on the present occasion.

To stimulate individual energy, and to extend individual liberty, seems to have been the great object of the Virginia colonists. Social strength was sought as the means for securing the opportunities for such a system of culture, rather than as the end to be attained by the development of in-

as the end to be attained by the development of in-dividual freedom and energy. Accordingly, the largest liberty of individual action was sought, which in that day was deemed compatible with social order, and the due protection of persons and property. A knowledge of this their great desire, and of the circumstances under which it was mod-ified and exercised, will afford the key to the coloand of the circumstances under which it was modified and exercised, will afford the key to the colonial history of Virginia. "Existence without government, (says Bancroft, quoting from Jefferson,) seemed to promise to the general mass a greater degree of happiness than the tyranny of the European governments."* The establishment of an ordinance for common property, and the regulations of the home government, threatened to disappoint the Virginia colonists of their destiny; but the instinct of national character, and circumstances iavorable to its development, by which they were surrounded, were too strong for artificial restraints. Says Bancroft, "They were Anglo-Saxons in the woods again, with the inherited culture and intelligence of the seventeenth century. The Anglo-Saxon mind, in its severest nationality, neither distracted by fanaticism nor wounded by persecution, nor excited by new ideas; but fondly cherishing the active instinct for personal freedom, secure possession, and legislative power, such as belonged to it before the reformation, and existed independent of the reformation, had made its dwelling place in the empire of Powhatan."

place in the empire of Powhatan."†

It was this spirit which enabled them not only to surmount the difficulties which so embarrassed them at first, but in the end to convert them into them at first, but in the end to convert them into auxiliaries of their growth and progress. The Indian power which was so near annihilating the colony in 1622, after it was placed under proper restraints, often served as a useful barrier to the too rapid dispersion of the white population in the widerness. When we survey all the difficulties encountered by the early settlers, it is surprising that they survived the perils which surrounded them. Sometimes it was domestic dissension that disturbed them, then Famine stared them in the face, and to crown the whole, on one day they the face, and to crown the whole, on one day they were nearly all annihilated by a general Indian insurrection and massacre, with all the cruel acwere nearly all annihilated by a general Indian insurrection and massacre, with all the cruel accompaniments of savage warfare "sparing neither age nor sex, but destroying man, woman, and child, according to their cruel way of leaving none behind to bear resentment." In 1609, they were reduced by a famine of uncommon horrors from five hundred to three-score men, when Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport arrived with their two little cedar vessels, the "Patience," and "Deliverance," built by themselves in Bermuda, where they had been ship-wrecked, and offered either to stay with them and divide their provision, or to take them away, and put to sea again. This, and the opportune arrival of Lord Delaware, saved the colony upon that occasion, but the "starving-time," as it was called, was long remembered in their annals. Still more startling was the massacre in March, 1622, when, according to Beverly, "of Christians there were murdered three bundred and forty-seven, most of them falling by their own instruments and working tools."

ments and working tools." In grateful recollection of the preservation of the colony under so many difficulties more than one statute is to be found by which the "old the massacre, was by law set apart as a holy day, to commemorate their providential deliverance from utter destruction at that time. Of the feelfrom utter destruction at that time. Of the feelings awakened by such events amongst a handful of settlers, environed as they were by so many perils, we can now form no adequate conception; but the colonial statutes of that period, and a little after, present some striking evidences of the condition of the people. A general war was declared against the Indians; certain periods of the year were fixed upon by law for hunting the savages, and falling upon their towns; persons were forbidden to work in the fields unless they were armed, and at least four of them together, and they armed, and at least four of them together, and they were strictly enjoined to carry arms to church.¶ The trade between the whites and the Indians,

and the terms of their intercourse to a certain ex-tent, were regulated by law. The colonial gov-ernment, of course, exerted to the utmost their ernment, of course, exerted to the utmost their feeble powers for the protection of the citizen, but after all, the main dependence was upon individual energy and resources. And upon that idea, the whole policy of the government was based. With such means, and entirely by their based. With such means, and entirely by their own exertions, they were able to work out their deliverance so far as to enable Sir William Berkeley to say in his answer to the Lords Commissioners of Foreign plantations, in 1671, "the Indians, our neighbors, are absolutely subjected, so there is no fear of them." Of course this refers only to the settled parts, as history shows a very different state of things on the frontiers then, and long afterwards. It was, perhaps, well for the Colonythat it was forced to depend upon itself for protection against the dangers which on itself for protection against the dangers which assailed it, for it was this necessity which led to a social organization and domestic policy, upon which were founded the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the State.

In 1619, the first colonial assembly that ever met

In 1619, the first colonial assembly that ever met in Virginia, was convened by Sir George Yeard-leyb and in July, 1621, a written constitution was first given by the London Company. The legislative power became thus vested in the Governor, Council and Burgesses of Assembly, elected by the people, and Council, after 1680, sitting apart as an upper house in legislative matters, and also advising the Governor as to his executive duties. The acts of this assembly, when assembly duties. The acts of this assembly, when assented to by the Governor, became laws, unless nega-tived by the Crown. The Council, although aptived by the Crown. The Council, although appointed by the Crown, or in case of vacancy by the Governor, held by a tenure which was in fact, though not in theory, independent, and for the most part, like the burgesses, sided with the people, with whom they had common interests a The right of representative government being once granted, a domestic organization and policy were soon moulded so as to meet substantially the wants of the people. In 1623, monthly counts were as soon moulded so as to meet substantially the wants of the people. In 1623, monthly courts were established, and likewise commanders of plantations were instituted to be of the quorum, and also to exercise a military control over the plantation for which they were appointed. The general court was composed of the Governor and Council, and appeals lay to the General Assembly d The germs of the general and local governments of the colony were thus planted, and without going into a history of the various grants, and restrictions upon the power of the General Assembly, it may be said that the history of its legislation proves, that practically this body controlled the domestic affairs of the State, the Governor and Council, in most instances, concurring, or else being overfairs of the State, the Governor and Council, in most instances, concurring, or else being overruled by public opinion, except in some of those cases in which the king interfered for purposes of his own. Indeed, the Virginia agents who were sent to London to obtain a new charter from the king, in 1675, asked for a confirmation of the authority of the "grand assembly," consisting of Governor, Council, and Burgesses, and said "this is, in effect, only to ask that the laws made in Virginia may be of force and value, since the legisin effect, only to ask that the laws made in Virginia may be of force and value, since the legislative power has ever resided in an assembly, so qualified, and by fifty years' experience had been found a government more easy to the people and advantageous to the Crown; for in all that time, there had not been one law which had been complained of as burthensome to the one, or prejudical to the prerogative of the other." In an address made by the Governor and Council in their legislative canacity, and by the Horse

cil in their legislative capacity, and by the House of Burgesses to the king in 1752, it is stated, "that as we conceive, according to the ancient consti-tution and usages of this colony, all laws enacted here for the public peace, welfare, and good gov-ernment thereof, and not repugnant to the laws and statutes of Great Britain, have always been taken and held to be in full force until your majesty's dis-allowance thereof is notified here, and that the same be revised, altered, and amended, from time to time, as our extgencies may require. But that when a

* Bancroft, vol. II, p. 213. † Bancroft, vol. II, p. 454. ‡ Beverly, p. 39. § Beverly, pp. 21, 22, 23. ‡ Ibid, p. 39. ¶1 Hen-g, 174, 317, 418, 319. aHening, vol. II, p. 511. bIbid vol. I, p. 118. cl Beverly, pp. 203, 4, 5, 6, 7,
dSir William Berkley's statement, in 1671, (Hening, vol. 11, p. 512.)
> Hesing, vol. II, p. 327.

law once enacted here, bath once received your ma-

that time. But these county courts, which formed so important an element in the government of Virginia, and so powerful an agent in moulding the character of her people, and in promoting her prosperity, were not confined to judicial functions alone; they had many of the powers of a local government, laying taxes, making roads, and sometimes even waging Indian wars, by the assent of the State first given, under their own management and with their own money. In 1645,† the counties of Isle of Wight and Upper and Lower Norfolk, were directed to make wer upon the "Nansimon Indians." In the same year, certain other counties were associated to upon the "Nansimon Indians." In the same year, certain other counties were associated to carry on war against, the Indians, tunder county lieutenants. In 1644, it was enacted, that those maimed and hurt should be relieved by the counties in which they resided. At first, the burgesses themselves were organized to be paid by the counties which they represented. In 1662, it was enacted that "whereas oftentimes small inconveniences happen in the respective counties and parishes, which cannot well be concluded in a general law; the respective counties and several general law; the respective counties, and several parishes in these counties, shall have liberty to make laws for themselves, and those that are so constituted by the major part of the said counties, or parishes, to be binding upon them as fully as any others. In 1679, this system was further regulated by

associating delegates from the parishes with the justices. The first road over Rock-fish Gap was made by the county court of Augusta, under the authority of a law of the assembly. Nay, so far did the early Colonial Assemblies go in this division of power and duties, that in 1645 they entered into a contract with Captain Henry Fleet for ending the war with Opechancanough, for a consideration to be given him, and direct ed the counties north of James river to raise certain troops to be placed at the disposal of Lieutenant Fra. Poythers, and himself.¶ The General Assembly thus acting, through and upon a sort of confederation of local governments, and stimulating, as I shall presently show, individual energy to the highest possible show, individual energy to the inguest possione activity, accomplished results which were wonderful for its means. By dividing the powers and duties of government amongst these local tribunals, and by apportioning to each in this way the expenses and burthens of public operations, in proportion to the share of benefit received by its constituents, they obtained the largest command of the resources and resources and resources of their neonless. of the resources and revenues of their people whole body of the people to the early considera tion and management of public affairs, and se cured a class—the magistrates of the county— who were always ready and willing to maintain order and justice at home, and to organize for de fence in war. A class which constituted for the State its ornament in peace, and its defence in State its ornament in peace, and its defence in time of war. A more honorable and useful place in human society could not well be devised, than that which was held by the old Virginia magistrate. Commanding the entire respect of the people of whom he was one, and bound to them by the ties of a common interest and mutual association, he could not fail to enjoy their confidence. Wielding as one of the court the power of the State, and interpreting its laws by indicial decisions. State, and interpreting its laws by judicial deci-sion within the limits of his county, or else sitting, like the Druid, under his oak to administer justice between man and man, in cases upon which he might act alone, he learned to understand the relations of law to public and private right.

In such keeping, the rights of himself and his neighbors were safe, and thus were trained up a class of men to whom the great body of the people might refer for counsel and assistance, in times of difficulty and emergency. Thus, too.

each county was provided with a local govern-ment, which provided the greatest possible secu-rity to persons and property to the extent of its jurisdiction. Under the existing circumstances of the colony, a more admirable institution for po-litical and indical property. litical and judicial purposes could not have be devised. But this was not the only local su vision of importance to the economy of the pro-vince; the counties were subdivided into par-ishes, in each of which was a vestry, who took charge of the temporal interests of the established church. But this vestry, originally selected by the people of the parish, filled vacancies in their own body and chose their own ministers, who held their livings at their pleasure, so that the same spirit for popular government, which was visible elsewhere in the institutions of Virginia, nanifested itself here also.a A government thus constituted over a people sparsely scattered in different settlements, or plantations, was forced to rely upon individual energy and action, to an extent perhaps never known before in the affairs of a regularly organized society. The first thing was to settle upon a land system, which was finally moulded by the Assembly to suit for the most part the wants of the colony, although various obstacles were interposed by the selfish and unwise interposition of the crown.

By the original charter, a "right" to fifty acres of land to a person for removing to, and settling in, Virginia, and as much for his wife, and each of his children, was given and secured. What constituted "seating" or settling within the security of the seating of the seating

stituted "seating," or settling, within the meaning of that, and subsequent laws, was the subject of legislative interpretation, as appears by many statutes to be found in Hening. So highly did the statutes to be found in Hening. So highly did the colonist value this mode of inviting immigration and settlement, that in the capitulation of the colony to the Commissioners of Parliament in 1651, this settlement right was specially reserved.c and in 1675, the agents sent out by Virginia, prayed "that the Jusual allowance of fifty acres of land for each person imported, which experience had proved to be so beneficial, may be continued.d Indeed, this grant of land upon the condition of settlement sometimes with and some condition of settlement sometimes with, and some-times without, a small price, became a favorite in-strument in the hands of the General Assembly for extending the population into the wilderness, and for defending the new plantations. Forts were built at the heads of the rivers upon grants of land to the individuals building and settling or and to the individuals building and settling around them, and armed occupation acts were early known to the Virginia land policy. When a new settlement was to be made, it was invited by an act of the legislature, which generally exempted the settlers from public burthens, and taxes for a limited time, who, by an old and standing law, were entitled to a certain quantity of land for improving and "seating" it. 1776 for for improving and "seating" it.e Iu 1776. f four hundred acres of land were given to each family settling vacant lands on the waters of the Mississippi, and to families who, for greater safety, had settled together, and worked the land in common, a town site of six hundred and forty acres was given, and a further grant of four hundred

was given, and a further grant of four hundred acres, contiguous to the town, was made to every family upon considerations of such settlement."

In some cases \$2 25 per one hundred acres, or a cent and a quarter per acre were to be paid by those claiming the settlement provisions. In fact, the settlement of Virginia beyond the Blue Ridge, at least, seems to have been made by the grant of lands upon the condition of occuping improving at least, seems to have been made by the grant of lands upon the condition of occuping, improving, and defending them. Of course in times of grent difficulty, and to the extent of her means, the State contributed to that defence, but the chief reliance, after all, was upon individual resources. How far that reliance was just, may be found in the adventures of Boone, Logan, Harrod, Kenton, and Clarke, and many others, whose heroic achievements upon "the dark and bloody ground," (as Kentucky was called.) might figure in romance,

/ Hening 5th, p. 436.

* Hening 5th, p. 436.

† Hening 5th, p. 315.

† Hening 5th, p. 315.

† Hening 1st, p. 292.

† Ibid 2, p. 171.

| Ibid 2, p. 441.

* Ibid 1st, p.

318.

a Beverly, p. 227-8.
b Ibid, p. 241.
c Hen. 1st, p. 364.
d Hen. 2, p. 524.
e Hening 1st. p, 253, for not permitting settlements on north side of Rappahannock river. In regard to settlement on the Roanoke, see Hen. 5th, pp. 37-58. In regard to settlements on the waters of the Mississippi, Hen. 6th, 258.
f Hening 9th, p. 356, and Marshall's History of Kentucky, vol. I, pp. 85, 6, 7, 8.

law once enacted here, hath once received your majesty's approbation, and both been confirmed, intally enacted and ratified, the same cannot by the legislature here be revised, altered or amended, without a clause therein to suspend the execution thereof, till your majesty's pleasure shall be known therein, although our necessities for an immediate revisal, alteration, or amendment, be ever so pressing, 'I and accordingly they complain of the king's signing some of their own laws because they were thus placed beyond their reach, without the tedious process which they describe. From which it is to be inferred that their domestic legislation was for the most part framed by themselves, with but little interference from abroad terresting to foreign commerce and imperial interests, or the more selfish and personal schemes of the king, or his favorites, for purposes of indidual plunder.

The judiciary, too, was eminently popular; justices of the county courts practically filled their own vacancies, as the appointments were made to the general assembly itself; this, with the trial by jury, which was virtually given by the declares to the general assembly itself; this, with the trial by jury, which was virtually given by the declares to the general assembly itself; this, with the trial by jury, which was virtually given by the declares to the general assembly itself; this, with the trial by jury, which was virtually given by the declares to the general assembly itself; this, with the trial by jury, which was virtually given by the declares to the general assembly itself; this, with the trial by jury, which was virtually given by the declares to the general assembly itself; this, with the trial by jury, which was virtually given by the declares to the general assembly itself; this, with the trial by jury, which was virtually given by the system which was satisfactory to the people at that time. But these county courts, which formed by legislative enactment in 1642,* constituted a system which was satisfactory to the peo if in their case the reality were not even strange

257 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

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July 77 tf

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THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE, that the original Virginia Military Land Warrant, No. Sport, for 3334 acres, issued on the 22d September, 1841, in the name of Ann Bronaugh, one of the heirs of Lieutenant Austin Sandridge, for his service as lieutenant in the continental line, has been accidentally lost; and application will be made to the General Land Office, for the issue of

with the 4th section of the rules and regulations of said office dated November 20th, 1852.
THOMAS BRONAUGH, For himself and the other heirs of Ann Bronaugh.

script on a duplicate of said warrant, in accordance

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